

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT C.L. SULZBERGER OP-ED COLUMN THE NEW YORK TIMES WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1 HEADED "ALL DEMOCRATS NOW."

2. PARIS, THE RETURN TO PEKING OF MOSCOW'S CHIEF NEGOTIATOR ON SINO-SOVIET AFFAIRS IS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SIGN OF A NEW KREMLIN DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE WHOSE ULTIMATE MEANING REMAINS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISCERN.

3. WHEN LEONID ILYICHEV ARRIVED IN THE CHINESE CAPITAL THIS WEEK TO EXPLORE THE CHANCES OF A FRESH DIALOGUE WITH THE POST-MAO GOVERNMENT OF CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG, THIS SEEMED TO BE BUT THE FINAL STEP IN A WELL-COORDINATED PLAN TO ASSESS THE POLITICAL WORLD AS NEW GOVERNMENTS TAKE OVER THE UNITED STATES, CHINA AND SOON, INEVITABLY, YUGOSLAVIA AND THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF.

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4. PRESIDENT FORD IS LEAVING OFFICE; MAO TSE-TUNG IS GONE; EONARD BREZHNEV AND TITO SEEM ON THE VERGE OF DEPARTING. THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME IS STILL A BLUR BUT SOMETHING MOVES ON THE HORIZON. MOSCOW, ESPECIALLY, IS TAKING THE

INITIATIVE TO REASSURE Y'GOSLAVIA AND RUMANIA (MARXIST EAST EUROPE'S DISSIDENT TWINS) THAT IT MEANS NO HARM.

5. IT PROMISES TO RESPECT ALBANIA (THE ONLY MAOIST STATE IN THE WEST) AND ASSUREDLY WHATEVER MR. ILYICHEV HAS TO SAY TO CHINA WILL BE IN TANDEM WITH SUCH AMIABILITY. SO FAR, HOWEVER, DESPITE A SHOW OF PERSONAL HEARTINESS, THE BREZHNEV PEACE INITIATIVE HAS MADE LITTLE APPARENT HEADWAY.

6. AS FAR AS CHINA IS CONCERNED, PEKING HAS BEEN OPENLY DISCONTENTED WITH ITS EXISTING SOVIET FRONTIER EVER SINCE THE MAOIST REVOLUTION TOOK OVER. YET EVERY EUROPEAN STATE (EXCEPT ALBANIA) - PLUS THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA - JOINED WITH THE U.S.S.R. LAST YEAR IN HELSINKI SPECIFICALLY TO GUARANTEE "AS INVIOABLE ALL ONE ANOTHER'S FRONTIERS" - WHICH CLEARLY MEANS EVERYWHERE - "AS WELL AS THE FRONTIERS OF ALL STATES IN EUROPE."

7. FOR SOME PECULIAR REASON NONE OF THE SIGNATORY STATES- MEN WITH WHOM I HAVE SINCE SPOKEN, INCLUDING AMERICAN, FRENCH, WEST GERMAN AND MANY OTHERS, SEEMED IN THE LEAST AWARE THAT THEY HAD COMMITTED THEIR NATIONS' HONOR TO GUARANTEEING A CHINESE BORDER WHICH PEKING WISHED TO CHANGE.

8. I WONDER IF MR. BREZHNEV OR ANDREI GROMYKO, HIS EXPE- RIENCED FOREIGN MINISTER, WERE EQUALLY INNOCENT. IN ANY CASE, IT DOESN'T MAKE MR. ILYICHEV'S JOB HARDER TO HAVE THE HELSINKI GUARANTEE AND MUST ALSO REASSURE THE ALBANIANS OF THE WISDOM OF AN ISOLATIONISM WHICH MADE THEM THE ONLY NONSIGNATORY STATE OF EUROPE'S 34 SO-CALLED FREE COUNTRIES.

9. ONE CANNOT POSSIBLY IMAGINE WHAT KIND OF SHADOW - IF ANY - THE HELSINKI PROCLAMATION MAY THROW OVER THE FORTH- COMING SINO-SOVIET TALKS. BUT, WHATEVER THEY PRODUCE, UNCLASSIFIED

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IT IS UNLIKELY TO BE A STRENGTHENING OF THAT IDEALOGY WE CUSTOMARILY REFER TO AS "DEMOCRACY."

10. HERE, TOO, A REFERENCE TO LAST YEAR'S STATEMENT IN HELSINKI, PUBLISHED AS THE "FINAL ACT" OF THE "CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE," SHOWS ANOTHER CURIOUS LAPSE AMONG THE WEST'S ASTUTE NEGOTIATORS.

11. POLYS MODINOS, A LEARNED GREEK LAWYER FROM ALEXANDRIA, FORMER JUDGE OF THE EGYPTIAN MIXED COURTS AND LATER REPRESENTATIVE AT THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN STRASBOURG, NOW 77 YEAR-OLD AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, POINTS OUT THAT IN THE ENTIRE SET OF TEXTS PUBLISHED BY THE HELSINKI MEETING THE WORD "DEMOCRACY" IS MENTIONED ONLY TWICE.

12. IT COMES IN THE "FINAL ACTS " FIRST PARAGRAPH WHEN THE PARTICIPATING MEMBERS ARE LISTED, INCLUDING THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. AND IT COMES IN THE THIRD PARAGRAPH WHERE REFERENCE IS MADE TO STATEMENTS HEARD FROM SOME NON-EUROPEAN LANDS INCLUDING THE DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA. AT NO OTHER POINT IS THERE REFERENCE TO "DEMOCRACY" AS A FORM OF GOVERNMENT OR IDEOLOGY OR EVEN IN AN ADJECTIVE.

13. AS MR. MODINOS DEMONSTRATES: "BY THE PROLIFERATION OF EPITHETS AND ADJECTIVES AND THE VARIETY OF TERMINOLOGIES, DEMOCRACY RISKS LOSING ITS TRUE FACE. PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY, REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY, PRESIDENTIAL DEMOCRACY, POPULAR DEMOCRACY, SOCIALIST, DIRECT, INDIRECT, WESTERN CAPITALIST, TRADITIONALIST, RADICAL, MARXIST, REVOLUTIONARY...." ALL CLAIM REFERENCE TO THAT HONORABLE WORD BUT THE ONLY ONES WHICH BOTHERED EVEN TO MENTION IT IN THE HELSINKI DOCUMENTS WERE ODD VARIANTS THAT HAD LITTLE TRUE RELATIONSHIP TO THE TERM'S PHILOSOPHICAL INTENT.

14. AS THE AMBASSADOR RECALLS, A MAN IS ONLY FREE IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IF HE IS THE RESPONSIBLE MASTER OF HIS ACTIONS, BUT THAT IS SCARCELY THE CONCLUSION ONE WOULD DRAW, FOR EXAMPLE, FROM THE FACT THAT THE "GERMAN DEMO-

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CRATIC REPUBLIC'S POPULATION IS LARGELY INTENT ON ESCAPING THAT STATE'S BENIGN ADMINISTRATION.

15. "THE TRAGEDY OF MODERN DEMOCRACIES," ACCORDING TO JACQUES MARITAIN, THE FRENCH PHILOSOPHER, "IS THAT THEY HAVEN'T SUCCEEDED IN ACHIEVING DEMOCRACY." SUCH INDEED IS TRAGIC. BUT TO ALLOW NONDEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES TO PURLOIN THE WORD AND THEN EVEN TO FORGET THE CHANCE TO USE IT IN A DOCUMENT MEANT TO BE OF TRANSCENDENT IMPORTANCE, IS MORE THAN A DRAFTING ERROR; IT IS INSANE. (END TEXT.) ROBINSON

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